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ABSTRACT

This paper presents findings of a study that examined how the internship experience serves as a rite of passage for the teacher making the transition to aspiring principal. The experiences of 54 participants in an administrator internship program at Bank Street College of Education in New York City were analyzed. Data were derived from analysis of the interns' journals, reflective papers, and field notes; a focus group session with graduates from two cohorts; and followup interviews with graduates. The participants' selection, entry, and joining processes are viewed from both institutional and individual perspectives, which set the stage for the internship as a rite of passage. Nearly all of the participants reported themselves changed during their internship experiences. They viewed themselves, their home-school principals, their mentor principals, other key personnel, and their teaching roles differently than before. Some began with doubts about the administrative role and evolved into enthusiastic aspirants. Recommendations are made that internships offer sociostructural supports, provide experiences related to stages of the passage, acknowledge the use of multiple ways of knowing, view principal roles in the wider societal context, and integrate administration and instruction. The appendix contains the program-evaluation form. (LMI)

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Rites of Passage: The Changing Role Perceptions of Interns in their Preparation for Principalships

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The need for principals who are well-trained and well-prepared is undisputed. In professional literature of recent years, attention has turned increasingly to the study of effective principals and the difference they make in the quality of schools. Case studies of good schools portray effective principals as instructional leaders, facilitators, problem-solvers, culture-builders, and transformational leaders. (See Lieberman et al., 1988; Kopf, Smith and Andrews, 1989; Sarason, 1982; Sizer, 1986; Sergiovanni, 1984.)

However, we know much less about the training of principals for these roles, especially from the perspective of those receiving the training. In particular, how do promising teachers and assistant principals negotiate the changes in perception in anticipating or taking up roles of leadership?

Training of principals typically includes both course work and internship. Courses, though vital, have obvious limitations in helping people negotiate changes in roles and perspectives. Trainees need the "matter of experience" as a basis for applying, testing and mastering skills and assumptions. It is through the internship--accompanying the mentor through the real world

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pressure cooker of day-to-day situations--that trainees are affected in crucial and lasting ways (National Commission, 1987).

With the internship as its focus, this paper examines interns' changing perceptions of themselves and the roles of principal and teacher. Our perspective for this examination is based on the concept of "rites of passage." We examine the experiences and perceptions of a group of individuals during their internship in an innovative principal training program. Using features identified in the rites of passage literature, we identify and discuss their process of negotiating the "border crossing" from teaching to administration.

The purpose of this paper is to understand and describe the internship experience--its content, rhythms and situations--and how the internship serves as a rite of passage. The key questions are: (1) In what ways are the intern's role perceptions affected as a result of the internship: of themselves as teachers, as prospective principals and other key personnel? (2) How does the internship mediate the transition from teacher to aspiring principal? This study is descriptive rather than prescriptive. It relies on both sociology of work and occupations and psychology to interpret the internship as a rite of passage.

Before discussing the study's methodology, we present background and perspectives on the concept of rites of passage and identify various features of rites of passage from research and theoretical literature. We also discuss how these features may be useful in understanding socialization experiences such as the administrative internship.

Features of Rites of Passage

Background and Perspectives of Concept

Van Gennep (1960 [1909]) first introduced the rites of passage idea in his anthropological studies of rituals of various cultures. Van Gennep used rites of passage as a way to understand how individuals move from one stage or event of life to another. As applied to occupational and career studies, the concept typically describes the movement from a lay role to a professional role. However, this use has neglected the significant issues involved in moving from one role/occupation to another, e.g., the move from teaching to administration (Trice and Morand, 1989).

Van Gennep identified three characteristics (or stages) of rites of passage: separation, transition, and integration. His contribution was to suggest the application of this pattern of passages to a multiplicity of life transitions. "The underlying arrangement is always the same. Beneath a multiplicity of forms, either consciously expressed or merely implied, a typical pattern always recurs: the pattern of rites of passage" (1960: 191 [1909]). We will return to these stages later in this section to identify the functions of each stage and examples from occupational studies.

Van Gennep's stages have received attention in both psychological and sociological literature. Lewin (1947) used the parallel ideas of freezing, changing, and refreezing to demonstrate how psychological processes influence beliefs and values surrounding change. The psychological perspective has helped us to focus on the importance of individual response to the necessary but frequently traumatic experience of change.

From the sociological perspective, Glaser and Strauss (1971) and others have emphasized the significant others who support the passage from one life or occupational stage to another. For sociologists, rites of passage also act as signaling devices to the wider social context of the change occurring in the life of an individual or group (Trice and Morand, 1989). However, Strauss (1968), in an article on neglected properties of status passage, emphasizes that the rites may not always be socially celebrated. Trice and Morand (1989) describe how some transitions, e.g., youth to adulthood, are dispersed over time (during college, first occupation). Glaser and Strauss (1971) found that persons going through mid-career passages tend to do so alone.

In this paper we use "rites of passage" from both psychological and sociological perspectives. The ceremonial and overt passages that interns experience concern us, but so do the perspectives of the interns themselves, their anxieties, joys, and grief as they move from teaching to administration. The role that others play in this transition, i.e., "the supporting cast of the social drama" (Trice and Morand, 1989: 398) is equally important.

Characteristics of Rites of Passage

In understanding how the internship serves as a rite of passage, we use Van Gennep's three characteristics (as well as Lewin's labels). To do so, it is necessary to understand the function of each characteristic/stage and to identify examples from educational and other occupations of these stages.

Rites of separation. In Van Gennep's formulation, rites of separation act as agents or rituals to free individuals of some feature of their past role, e.g., childhood. Rites of

separation are necessary before a new role or image of that role can be accepted and internalized. Lewin (1947) refers to this stage or feature as the "unfreezing" of previous views and values. Others have used phrases such as "unlearning" or "letting go" (Louis, 1980; Schein, 1978).

An initial part of military induction is the stripping of civilian clothing and the issuing of military fatigues and uniforms. This induction ritual reinforces for recruits that they have left civilian life. But the separation means more than a change of clothing; it symbolizes for the recruit a change of life style, daily schedule, and source of control. The entire experience of boot camp--not completely dissimilar to some administrative internships--reinforces separation from the previous life style.

Regarding educational occupations, Greenfield (1977) identified divestiture of the teaching perspective as one element of the transition to administration. This divestiture, contrasted to investiture in other occupations, reinforces the separation from a classroom orientation. Veteran principals and superintendents remind new principals that they are no longer teachers.

Rites of transition. Once rites of separation have occurred, individuals enter a new stage which Van Gennep calls transition and Lewin labels "changing." In this stage, rites of passage create a kind of "liminality" or "limbo" (Turner, 1969) that acts to open the newcomer to the influences of the organization or occupation.

Debasement experiences, identified in occupations such as management and law enforcement, serve as ways to open the newcomer to new influences (Van Maanen, 1973, 1975; Ritti and Funkhauser, 1977; Pascale, 1984). These experiences embarrass

or humiliate newcomers in order to make them less confident of their previous skills and more open to new roles, responsibilities, and relationships. Pascale (1984) describes the message that new managers get from their superiors as "you may know a lot, but as far as this organization is concerned you are in kindergarten" (p. 30).

Schein (1971) describes "up-ending experiences" that are "deliberately planned or accidentally created circumstances which upset . . . some of the major assumptions the new man (sic) holds about himself, his company, or his job" (p. 8). Pascale (1984) describes the socialization of neophyte managers as including experiences and training "calculated to induce humility and to make him (sic) question his prior behavior, beliefs, and values. By lessening the recruit's comfort with himself (sic), the companies hoped to promote openness toward their own values and norms" (p. 30).

Trice and Morand (1989) suggest that if these rites are collective, there is a strong tendency for a sense of comradeship to develop. Lortie (1968, 1975) refers to the "shared ordeal" experience that individuals in many occupations, for example medicine, law, and professorate, experience as they undergo examination and scrutiny as a cohort. He found that this shared experience does not occur for school teachers; and it is unlikely, except in certain recent innovative cohort programs, that it occurs for principals.

Crow, Levine and Nager (1990) found that new teachers moving from business encountered supervising teachers who quickly informed them that they may have known a lot in their previous occupations, but in teaching they were novices. The new teachers perceived this as a kind of debasing experience. One effect, however, was to open the new teacher to the cooperating teacher's influences regarding what and how to teach and

how to manage a classroom.

Rites of integration. The final stage, according to Van Gennep, is integration where the individual is accepted and incorporated into the new role. Lewin's term is "refreezing" to an acceptance of the change. Becker and Carper (1956) refer to a process of identification where the individual changes identity to fit the new role.

These rites can include "carefully monitored experiences" (Pascale, 1984) and rituals such as graduation ceremonies. Davis (1968) describes the process of "doctrinal conversion" that occurs as nurses move from layperson to professional. The last stage of this process involves internalizing an image of the role. For some roles, graduation ritualizes this change of identity and internalization of role image.

In educational occupations the rites of integration are probably not socially celebrated except in private ways by the newcomer and family or friends. The National Commission (1987) describes the certification process for principals as a "back door" approach. Entering an occupation through the back door is unlikely to be characterized by consciously monitored experiences in the field (Pascale, 1984) or to be socially celebrated.

Rites of Passage and Socialization

Trice and Roman (1973) argue that rites of passage have both technical and expressive functions. Both are important in understanding how and if training and socialization experiences, such as an internship, serve as powerful rites of passage.

The most obvious goal of training is to provide the knowledge and skills of the role. This technical function is inherent in many rites of passage that individuals encounter.

For example, the goal during the stage of transition is to open the newcomer to the influence of the organization or occupation to facilitate the development of new skills. In the separation stage, the goal is to rid the newcomer of the perspective of the old role so that a new role is possible. Greenfield's (1977) description of divestiture is a case in point. Veterans de-emphasize classroom knowledge and skills and emphasize new skills and knowledge necessary for the smooth operation of the school as a whole.

However, training also has an expressive function. Not only are knowledge and skills emphasized, but values and relationships developed. Chen and Rossi (1980) found considerable evidence that expressive outcomes may be strong though technical outcomes are weak.

Debasing experiences, such as those in the transition stage, if they occur collectively, may help to develop relationships and camaraderie that influence job performance. Trice, Belasco, and Alutto (1969), in their study of managerial trainees, found that camaraderie established during the training experiences persisted for many years.

Rites of passage, occurring during training experiences, may be both functional and dysfunctional in terms of the transition from one role to another. As we have seen, they serve expressive as well as technical functions and may help to encourage acceptance of innovative conceptions of the role. They help to emphasize the change in perceptions and values necessary to take on a different role and perform the role in ways that sustain organizational stability.

Yet, these rites of passage may be dysfunctional. At the individual level, they may

reinforce a custodial view of the role (Van Mannen and Schein, 1979; Greenfield, 1977). Rites of passage may stress values and perspectives of those already in the role, thereby discouraging innovation. At the organizational and occupational level, rites of passage may act to reinforce the status quo and penalize individual innovation.

The larger practical context in which this study exists is the designing of rites of passage so that functional qualities of both change and stability can predominate. In educational administration preparation, a major concern is to develop transformational in contrast to custodial leaders for schools. How do we design rites of passage, such as those in the internship experience, that facilitate the development of transformational leaders? Trice and Morand (1989) suggest that the best place to begin in designing functional rites of passage is to "become more aware of their (rites of passage) presence, how potent they are, and how they might be adapted to organization's dynamic ebb and flow of change processes" (p. 414). Our attempt in this paper is to contribute to this awareness of the rites of passage in one internship program in order to know how to reinforce innovation and develop transformational leaders.

Methodology

Patterns and key incidents of the rites of passage of an internship will be studied and analyzed through examining the changing perceptions and assumptions of 54 interns from three cohorts during the period 1990-1992.

Description of Internship

These interns participated in the Principals Institute at Bank Street College of Education in New York City. The Institute is a collaboration between the College and the

New York City Board of Education. Its goals are to identify and prepare exemplary teachers, especially women and minorities, for principalships in New York City. Interns were nominated by their district superintendents and selected after a rigorous application process. The process involved documentation of their teaching and leadership expertise and assessment through videotaped role plays of their abilities to communicate, work cooperatively, influence group opinion, and facilitate task completion.

The Institute program included course work and internship. Students progressed throughout the program in cohorts of approximately 18 individuals. After a semester of foundational courses in educational administration, students began their internships with innovative mentors who were recommended by local professionals. Unlike typical administrative internships, these interns were relieved of their teaching responsibilities during the internship semester. Their primary assignment was to the mentor's school, although each week they spent time in a district office or community agency.

During the internship, a Bank Street advisor worked closely with the student and mentor. The adviser visited the intern and mentor on site, met with the intern individually every other week, and led a group session every week composed of half the cohort. The advisement process focused on critical incidents occurring in the internship, experiences with mentors, and other issues identified by interns.

The internship experience gave the intern opportunities to develop skills in the primary areas of the principal's work, especially those involving school based management and instructional leadership. Interns shadowed their mentors, helped in various administrative activities, and had primary responsibility for specific programs. (For

more information on the Institute, see Bank Street College, 1991; Crow et al., 1992; New York City Board, 1992.)

Data Sources

The findings in this paper are drawn from interns' own accounts. The sources are the journals that each of the 54 interns kept during the five month internship, reflective papers written in the last phase prior to graduation, and field notes from weekly group sessions and bi-weekly individual advisement. In addition data were collected from a focus group session with graduates from two cohorts (1991-1992) who analyzed turning points and critical incidents in retrospect. Advisers also conducted a follow up interview of graduates (See Appendix A for interview instrument).

Findings

In this section we present findings of the interns' changing perceptions and assumptions regarding themselves and the roles of principal and teacher. We begin with a discussion of the selection, entry, and joining processes viewed from both institutional and individual perspectives. These set the stage for the internship as a rite of passage. After this discussion, we will examine the interns' perceptions viewed from the three stages/characteristics of rites of passage.

Entry: Institutional and Individual Perspectives

Those who enter the Principals Institute are seasoned professionals with established positions in their schools. They enter the program with the self-concept of well-regarded teacher and leave with a changed one of aspiring principal. Though not the "normative crisis" Erikson defined in relation to college students, this mid-life, mid-

career change is dramatic.

The Principals Institute represents the first rung or two on a career ladder that most interns previously conceived as horizontal, or lacking in stages and incremental rewards (Lortie, 1975). As Lortie describes, this leads to a tendency in teachers toward a more present than future orientation and the primacy of psychic rewards. The Principals Institute experience involves letting go of some gratifications of the teacher role—stability, recognition, and autonomy—and the taking on of uncertainty, visibility, and competition surrounding the principal role.

Students undergo a socialization process during their 18 months in the Principals Institute, a paradigm shift that is personal, professional and philosophical. The crux or key rite of passage is the internship. A part of its power derives from the experiences leading up to it. These insure that interns will "learn by doing" not just do.

Issues of identity, relationships, visions, and challenges permeate their experiences and begin to confront them upon entry. Throughout, individuals in the Principals Institute question who they are and where they are going. They wrestle with assumptions about leadership, philosophies, and politics and relate these to life stage goals and experiences with gender, race, and age. Some themes are more salient at specific points of the "passage" than others. As interns settle into the internship, they reorient their relationships and reference points to the perspective of authority. "We-they" is no longer identification with other teachers, but with administrators and supervisors. For many participants, this is also a time of reflection as they reinterpret or integrate challenges in their lives—loss, hostile environments, disability—in the context of this new or different

journey.

The findings and observations here focus on the features--institutional and individual--that facilitate entry and joining and impel students into value-forming experiences; this is "socialization" (Pascale, 1985). In the discussion that follows, the words of interns show how they engage in forging a psychological contract and become acculturated to new settings, roles and norms. (Pascale, 1985).

This section describes entry and joining from two perspectives:

a. the socio-structural means by which individuals move through the Principals Institute, i.e., how the Principals Institute mediates this transition from teacher to aspiring principal; and

b. the inner or psychological experiences and "turning points" reported by individuals as they negotiate the changes in self-concept, perceptions, and values in preparing for leadership.

Entry and Joining: Institutional View

In work organizations, socialization originates in the fact of entrants' differences. How can all individuals be brought to the same starting line and standard of excellence upon completion, considering their differences in experience, professional and interpersonal sophistication, and age and stage of development (Schein, 1964)?

Traditional graduate school experiences defer questions of differential achievement and variation to the academic process—the papers, seminars, and technical training that are accomplished and evaluated independently. Individual differences are privately addressed and accommodated through field placement and supervision.

By comparison, Bank Street College is a strong culture. The near equal attention paid to technical and expressive functions, as well as peer support, reflect its tradition and philosophy of progressive education. "We're like a family here" is frequently heard. Members of the College greet and treat entrants to a strong "we" feeling and invite them to embrace a distinct value system of humanism and collaboration for all children. Last names, titles, credentials and connections are de-emphasized.

Dual, overlapping cultures. The Principals Institute has a distinctively practical focus, political context, and showcase function. As its director has said, "The Institute is to be the West Point of principal training," a seal of excellence for all who graduate. For some 60% of graduates so far, the internship has led directly to administrative positions.

Throughout their program, students picture themselves in the working contexts of a principal in New York City's 1000 schools, but never more so than during the internship. They ask, "How would this (method of supervision or alternate curriculum, for example) work in the 'real world'?" "Is it possible for us not to take reality as we find it?" Interns know that their careers will play out in the fraught environment of urban cities today. They will face community boards, unions, parents, and corporate partnerships, amidst the uncertainty of standards, regulations, freedoms and constraints.

In the "real world," titles, credentials and connections matter, as do race, ethnicity and gender. For that matter, even styles of dress and self-expression count for mention in the Principals Institute. The internship is a risky enterprise for those involved: the individual, the Institute, the mentor and schools where they do their internship. In its focus on educators who are under-represented in the city schools' leadership, the

program must attend to its reputation for rigor and excellence. Otherwise, the program may be confused with tokenist practices in our society or may create individual self-doubt: "Am I here because I'm a member of an under-represented group, or am I perceived to have the ability?"

Selection. There are sequences of boundaries and passages in inducting students into the Institute and preparing them for internships. Many of these are unique for this kind of program, and set the stage for the internship. For example, most entrants find the selection process to be the most demanding and transparently competitive they have ever experienced. Among the first tasks are writing an extensive application, amassing letters of recommendation, and for those who make the cut, presenting themselves in a videotaped group interview. Crow (1992) cites this as a "shared ordeal" (Lortie, 1975), the first step of inculcating collegial support. It is a departure from the usual individual approach to principal socialization (Greenfield, 1977). As Crow points out, the "nucleus of support and mobility network" are to serve students throughout their careers. But, "recruitment is the organizational equivalent of romance." (Pascale, 1985). It is an object lesson that students remember:

> I knew I had to be special to join . . . I was so nervous . . . I remember two people in my group interview who talked but didn't seem to listen. They didn't talk with the group. We've all guessed that that's the reason why they're not here and we are, isn't it?

Entry and Joining: Individual Experience

Culture shock sets in as people encounter the amenities in the Principals Institute

at the start of internship: orientation, group meals, travel to observe other school systems, individual discussions to match intern and mentor with regard to each's choices and needs. The intention is to foster the norms of professionalism and esteem among educators; i.e., to treat people like the leaders they are becoming.

For some interns, this process underscores the sense of being chosen and special. Others feel pressured. It stirs up anxieties about entitlement, being taken seriously, or competition. Interns begin to voice the dilemmas of "Who am I? Who is my (reference) group?" A process of letting go of certainties begins. As expressed in one journal:

> Do I belong here? Am I as good as the others? Is it okay for me to confide in my advisor that I wasn't sure I really wanted to leave teaching even when I was applying?

Many interns "join" at a deeper level, giving voice to parts of themselves previously hidden. The constructed social self becomes more inclusive (Mead 1934). Journal writings reveal that, in joining, interns also struggle to reconcile the mix of realism and idealism of the Institute weighed against their assumptions and previous good and bad experiences. Many view internship as a test or second beginning from which "you can't go home again." As one writes in her journal:

> I was stunned to hear (Institute director) say that we must learn our way around the system politically, but also keep our integrity, never get involved in deals and favors, and always think of what's best for children. No one ever talked about any of this in a doctoral program I dropped out of a few years ago. And then there was the cynicism back on the job, in my district . . . . For the first time I know that

I'm meant to be here.

At times I've felt inadequate in the spotlight and I hope that I measure up to . . . whatever? I don't know. My insecurities are showing and I'm wondering: will I let anybody down? I will do the very best I can but I can only be E. (intern names herself). I am wondering: who is E. and where does she want to go, personally and professionally?

This is when identity is called into question; interns have an acute sense of their role changes. With this, they encounter values that are new to most, as part of the advisement philosophy. For example, they hear about and experience the utility of working with feelings in the service of learning and work. Moreover, they discover not having to maintain a facade of certainty and control to advisors and fellow cohort members and they hear about attention to individual differences to foster peer learning and support. Work values, ideologies of education, gender and ethnicity are subjects of intense concern--in bursts of anger, relief and uncertainty.

Rites of Passage

In this section, we examine the interns' changing perceptions during the internship as they pass through rites of separation, transition, and integration.

Rites of Separation: Letting Go (Unfreezing)

Loss and letting go characterize rites of passage. These reach a peak in the first weeks of internship amidst the realities of forming a relationship with one's mentor and

defining administrative and supervisory roles. A certain amount of cognitive dissonance is preordained. Interns are usually placed in settings different from their own to broaden their experience and stretch their assumptions, e.g., alternative school teachers in traditional schools, and vice versa. Their mentors are chosen with an eye toward leadership styles and strengths that will complement the interns.

Interns arrive to navigate the central offices and unfamiliar hallways of their new sites (wearing their more formal, less comfortable suits and shoes) and see classroom doors close behind them. They clutch at the outline of an internship plan that contains over a dozen mystifying categories to be filled out: programming, governance, curriculum and assessment, planning, budgeting, and conflict resolution.

These social structural events of separation parallel inner conflicts. At this stage, "I miss the children" is a frequent cri de coeur. This is real but also belies several losses: relinquishing a sense of mastery, the loss of the classroom as a locus of control, the foregoing of the immediate gratifications and feedback, and the loss of "hiddenness." Interns are exposed to comment and criticism as they find themselves establishing rapport, asking for help, initiating projects, and locating a teacher with whom to practice supervision. It is a stressful time. People report marital strain, accident-proneness, disrupted sleep. The advisor's first visits to the site don't occur soon enough!

> I hope I haven't reached my level of competence, but since I've been at Bank Street, I feel overwhelmed. I am going to be the best educational leader I can be; the road will be bumpy and difficult. I've never realized just how awesome and important it is to be an educational leader in our urban school system.

Some defend against the anxiety exhibiting rigid responses and black-white thinking, or intense ambivalence. An individual's method of coping can interfere with learning and interaction with the new environment. As they encounter hopeful models of schools, some interns respond by attacking and devaluing the models. Interns confront the contrast between these innovative models and their own earlier accommodations to mediocrity in their previous schools.

Advisement is critical for everyone, but particularly for those who lose focus, withdraw or attack. Among the risks at this stage in the advisement group are disenchantment leading to conflict, competition, and fragmentation. However, a moderate amount of these defensive responses may primarily signal the intensity of this passage:

> If we had their advantages, my school would work well, too.
>
> Nothing like my home school. The hallways, the noisy lunches! Even the second graders feel free to wander into the office to show someone a project or ask a question. I know it's a model of progressive education, but can all this playing really be good for children?
>
> My mentor juggles a million balls at once. That may be okay for her, but the real need is in the classroom.

The intern no longer resides in the role of expert teacher, but rather novice administrator, amidst an unknown set of norms and nomenclature. Learning involves unlearning. This is a humility-inducing stage of socialization for many interns, akin to

molting a skin.

> Are other interns accomplishing more? Or just absorbing everything and observing like me? I feel useless. Was I shadowing my mentor too much today? If I go off on my own, I worry that I'll miss things that come up in the office, that he'll wonder what I'm doing. I feel like I'm intruding.

As interns see instructional practices and norms of collegiality that may seem very foreign to them, they begin questioning career directions and values:

> How can I begin to love this small, selective, experimental junior high school when I feel committed to go back to my home school which is overcrowded, volatile, won't give up old ways of punishing, drilling and testing kids; and I may not get a chance to try anything new. Their need is too great. I can't indulge myself to stay in this kind of setting.

There are mitigating experiences. Many interns reclaim the lost professional dreams, pride and collegial interaction that were part of their attraction to the Institute. This can be bittersweet for those who are helped to reconnect earlier disillusionment and alienation because of the new supportive context. An intern from a large and divided vocational high school recorded such a moment in the first week of her alternative high school placement.

> I was handed a form that they give to all staff members to list the supplies I'd need. I couldn't think of what it really meant, so I put the paper aside. Two days later, the secretary handed me a box and said, "Since we didn't have your form yet, I guessed that these things might do for now." I examined my box: pens,

pads of paper, a stapler, post-it notes, some floppy disks. I swallowed hard. I've never had anything like this. I've been on my own for everything.

I feel a bond forming. The principal asked me to look out for the school in her absence. People missed me when I was out visiting other schools. For the first time I'm thinking I'm going to miss this place.

Interns call into question loyalty and emotional attachment to the home school and home district. They find a new allegiance but to a broader professional context.

I've always been proud of (my home school). I've been there 12 years and it's like family. But now, when I see all the opportunities we miss, what a real middle school philosophy looks like in action . . . well, I feel guilty to write this. They encouraged me to apply and recommended me. But what's really there to go back to?

Rites of Transition: Changing

It's frightening to be in limbo on the edge of personal and professional transformation. I have to have faith that there will be a place for me in New York City public school.

By the end of the first four to six weeks, interns perceive the state of limbo as unsettling, but fertile, manageable and changing. All the introductions and initial conversations at the school and district office have taken place. In a reception at the College, each intern and mentor pair up to present themselves and the school to the others in their group, a ritual of joining valued by mentors. During this reception, fewer

than half the interns took the time to mention the schools from which they came. Interns later report pride in the assemblage and good fortune in their situations. Not long after, interns say "we" and "my school" and laugh when they realize they are no longer referring to their home school.

Interns begin to carry out specific assignments, and test their capacities. They write "I've found my niche" and begin to scrutinize the school more analytically. No longer initiates, interns can engage with jobs and departments of the school: "I have an idea for more guidance for at-risk students . . . for infusing the arts into the curriculum . . . for getting the bilingual teachers together as a group."

This is a time of hunger for new learning (Turner, 1969). Interns open to the influences of the organization, wanting more ideas, rationales, protocols, implications for a course of action. Institute activities at this time stimulate and serve this hunger: visiting other schools, mini-internship at the district office, and readings. Speakers--heads of Board of Education departments, the teachers' union, corporations, and community boards--address the group in a rite of presentation and networking.

At this point, an important task occurs at a junction of course work and field work. Interns explore models of supervision and carry out a cycle of clinical supervision with taping and transcripts for the pre-observation, observation, and post-observation experience. The task culminates in an analytic paper. Interns must exercise care and assertiveness as they identify a teacher, usually with the mentor's help, for this assignment. The result is the sense of "I can do that" on both the technical and expressive levels. There is an intellectual challenge as interns reconceptualize

supervision as distinct from evaluation. This creates an impetus to dialogue that interns' later writings recall:

> What stands out for me was the ongoing series of conversations I had with my mentor about the philosophy and the reality of supervision. Those conversations were key ingredients in the internship process--the yeast that made it bubble and grow for me.

> As I perceive principals now, it is clear to me that the school leader is the first teacher of the school. I will model for others the process of teacher as learner, and teacher as researcher, with "the full spirit of inquiry." (quoting Dewey)

Accounts by interns reveal a depth of questioning that accompanies this time, in spite of (or perhaps because of) growing confidence in the new internship and relationships with the mentor and others. One student, a veteran teacher, wrote of the despair and depression that she could only verbalize six months later:

> Then, without any real awareness that it was happening, I began to understand what I was reading and feeling. My sense of myself as a leader became heightened by the readings. The things I had done intuitively were real and valuable. I could and would explore using myself more, go back to that "old" me and take risks. I had moved from "mothering" students (this diminished somewhat after my own child was born) to "mothering" adults and I no longer wanted to do that. I saw that I needed to express the adult leader, not the adult nurturer. That was what I had evolved into and the leadership qualities had created some

difficulties for me. I had not been prepared or aware of competition and control as issues I would have to encounter, so I had gone along, not recognizing my own competitive nature and my own need for control. No wonder I was uncomfortable! That part of my life, my work, which was integral to how I identified myself was constantly being challenged, first by my work place and now by Bank Street.

Views on authority. This is when interns see the role of the principal differently, become aware of their assumptions and values, and critique their previous and mentor principals:

> I thought my principal was an effective leader, but as I rethink it, he is always in a reactive role--there always appears to be another problem to take care of and little time exists to take on a more proactive role . . . . My mentor stays abreast of current research and transmits information to the staff. Here availability to staff and parents diminished the chances the problems will go unresolved . . . . Her expectations are high. She clearly defines roles and expectations.

> I used to see the principal primarily as an administrator. In my mentor, I saw a principal who is an instructional leader, who is the moving spirit of his school, who is foremost concerned with instruction and who views his administrative tasks as necessary to the smooth running of the school but not as his central focus.

> My home school principal makes decisions based on expedience and his most recent conversations. My mentor's, on the other hand, are based on a philosophy

of how people learn and develop over the years.

Role of principal and relation to others. "Loneness" is a concept offered by women principals in a reflective journal group (Christman et. al., 1993). It captures the isolation, silence and separateness fostered by organizational culture and bureaucracy, the normative split between public and private lives. A preoccupation of interns, mostly women, was their mentors' ability to balance consuming public/professional demands and private life.

One intern found herself in the unofficial role of acting principal while her mentor was critically ill. She was so effective that she remained in the role through June, after his death at mid-year. She wrote:

> As an administrative assistant, I sometimes found it hard to side with teachers. But I did so because the principal didn't care and I wanted to be liked and respected by my colleagues. Therefore they were right. I have relived all those terrible thoughts I had concerning principals and hung my head in shame for judging them without knowing all the facts. I now know why the principal is inaccessible, why the principal makes the ultimate decision not for the benefit of one teacher but for the benefit of the majority. (It) is a very lonely thankless job at times but I have realized that this is what I want.

> I conceived of the principal's relationships with teachers in terms of liking. I felt I'd want to be liked if I were a principal. But, the principal stands alone. I see now that it's not about popularity. Better to have a principal who is friendless and fair.

Where does a principal get help and support? They must network, network, network. I also appreciate now how isolated teachers are. What is it about schools?

Some of this questioning process is also part of the questioning of one's life and purposes characteristic of the middle years: generativity vs. stagnation; to seek out fresh challenges or to cope with old ones.

Before my mentor principal tapped me for the Acting Assistant Principal job, I never thought I'd end up here. I'm from a background of alternative schools. Here, in this enormous school, I was almost homesick. But the principal is (an) amazing and gifted principal and teacher. Now, I'm the only female A.P. and practically the only African-American faculty member. The internship has changed everything.

I've spent my teaching career in one small alternative school. Until my internship in a large traditional high school, I took for granted the enormous differences in structure and the role of the principal. Now I question where I would want to be, where I could do the most good.

Rites of Integration (Refreezing)

The latter phase of internship and follow-up course work are a period of integration and incorporation. Students are able to consolidate their recent and abiding visions of what a good school is and articulate these in their own proposals. A student points out that her peers no longer say, "If I am principal, but when I am principal."

Role orientations: Balancing transformational/custodial. One major type of integration that occurs during this stage is the development and internalization of a role orientation. For most, this integration is not simply an accommodation to someone else's orientation of the principal's role, but the development of one's own image of the role. Moreover, this process of integration affects the intern's identity as a person as well as a principal.

> If I return to my home school in September, I do not choose to return as the "autonomous teacher" that I was before my Bank Street experience. I want to help teachers to work on school-wide change and to address larger issues of education . . . to work collaboratively with the Betterment Committee to make adult development an active process, not a passive one in our school. (This graduate secured a position as an Assistant Principal.)

> I couldn't conceive of being a principal primarily because I didn't want to go through a lot of traditional classes only to end up with a useless degree. When I got information about this program, I began to see change as a real possibility. I saw a way to become one of the change agents.

> I had begun to shift ground in my sense of myself as a leader when I undertook this whole experience. I'd been caught up in some messy in-fighting in a school I had transferred into and had felt very lost. I now see that, at this stage of my life, I've been starting to lead less from my nurturing sense and more from the part

of me that is interested in power and can handle conflict. If I hadn't been in the Principals Institute I would have stayed lost?

This was the first place I felt professional.

Finding voice. By the end of the program, most Institute graduates show increased confidence, philosophical focus and skill. They have found their voices as aspiring leaders. This is a process increasingly addressed in the new literature on women's voices (Belenky, 1986; Christman et al., 1993).

I think about the whole school much more now. I am also reluctant to say the words "can't" and "not" to teachers. I am more inclined to say "how can we?"

Other people prompted me to apply to the Principals Institute. At the time, I felt I was happy in my work. I had no ambition and no means to develop it . . . . Now, I have confidence to want the job of principal, to get the support, to do it well, to develop a vision. What did I learn as an intern and interim acting principal in the past months? I never knew I knew so much!

I had no concept of instructional leadership based on the schools I've spent 14 years in. The literature seemed unreal, idealized. After only a few weeks of shadowing my mentor principal, my view changed 180 degrees. The faculty designed curriculum, peer review processes, and staff development activities. He facilitated. He set up an environment where teachers talk, plan, make mistakes,

and are creative--a school like Dewey wrote about, "teachers as scholars."

Integrating career. A recurrent expression in end-term journals is "coming full circle," though other writers simply speak of reaffirmation and validation. Most build a conceptual and emotional bridge to their early years in the profession:

> Well, it seems at this point in time in my career that I have come full circle. This time I am not a novice, but a director re-examining the benefits of team teaching, open classroom concepts, collaboration among teachers as the most effective ongoing staff development . . .
>
> My circle of my life began and began and continues to begin as I continue to find new ways of integrating "me." I hope my circle grows bigger and fuller and can hold all this newness . . . the leader, the parent of the adult child, the teacher, the friend, the member of a group, the parts that make up the whole . . . .
>
> As graduation nears, I see how the Principals Institute changed what I perceive schools to be. As this was happening, my journal entries provided me with insights into character and how it was changing with these new experiences. Have I made the transition yet from teacher to principal? . . . I hope that the demands of my next job do not make me lose the focus of being a teacher, of having enjoyed being an empowered teacher, and that with each journal entry that I now write for myself I will continue to feed the teacher in me.

Implications

An educational leader's role has a wide continuum of elements, described by Wolfe & Kolb (1979). It is rich in complexity, in terms of complex analysis, synthesis, problem-solving, and managing symbolism. Keep abreast of field, think comprehensively! Yet, the emphasis is also on action, decision-making, generating results--also, affective complexity. How do rites of passage prepare interns for these roles?

Earlier in this paper we mentioned Trice and Morand's (1989) suggestion that the best way to know how to design functional rites of passage is to be aware of them and their potency. We believe that our examination of this internship's rites of passage helps to identify implications for designing rites of passage that help to develop transformational leaders.

Internships are typically random, more serendipitous, rites (Greenfield, 1977). They are much in need of socio-structural supports (discussed here) to address, compensate, and adapt to the specific group of interns. One advantage of the Principals Institute is that it is small, fast, and flexible. Many changes can be made quickly even within the format as concerns and needs of the group are known.

The stages and characteristics of rites of passage emphasize a timing element that internships frequently ignore. Interns' experiences need to be related to the stages of the passage. Are the intern's tasks appropriately sequenced to help foster learning and growth and to resolve conflicts? When left to the dictates and opportunities of the environment, the intern can experience inconsistent levels of satisfaction and challenge or situations that raise defenses and cause rigid thinking (e.g., transition stage). University and clinical faculty, as well as mentors, need to be aware of what psychological

and sociological processes are occurring in the lives of the interns and what kinds of experiences are likely to facilitate successful passage.

The use of reflective practice, which the Institute and other programs are currently emphasizing to open the intern to new opportunities, needs to acknowledge the importance of multiple options of how to learn how to learn. The tendency to use one kind of knowing or one type of method, e.g., individual journals, may restrict and discourage the intern with fewer traditional frames of intelligence (Gardner, 1983). Multiple ways of knowing may not only benefit the intern with fewer traditional methods but encourage all interns to expand their repertoires of knowing--so that future administrators become leaders of learners (Schlechty, 1990).

A current debate in internship programs relates to whether internships should occur in model, innovative schools. While this kind of experience no doubt benefits interns who have taught only in traditional programs, the key ingredient may be exposure to alternate models rather than innovation. If the purpose of the internship is to convince interns to adopt a particular model of school renewal, then the internship should be in an innovative school. However, if the purpose is to develop transformative leaders of learning, the best kind of internship may be any setting that contrasts with the intern's previous school. Other social supports will then be necessary to expose interns to innovative models.

The current move in emphasis from restructuring schools to systemic change suggest the need to design rites of passage that encourage images of the principal as a leader within a larger context. Internship experiences in district offices, community agencies, and state bureaus encourage interns to see their role in the wider social context

in which the school exists.

Finally, separating from the previous role, which rites of passage encourage, may be dysfunctional for developing transformational leaders who emphasize instruction. We need to find ways to incorporate and reaffirm past teaching experience and future administrative perspectives. Ongoing attention to curriculum and instruction as a major area of the aspiring administrator's learning should help interns integrate teaching and administration. For example, exposing aspiring administrators to such models as multi-age groupings and inter-disciplinary and thematic instruction encourages their perception of themselves as instructional leaders. Moreover, it discourages the traditional split between administration and instruction.

However, we need more discussion and research regarding models of administration that permit and encourage administrators to continue experience in the classroom. These new models will allow interns to see administration not as separation from teaching but integration of school and classroom orientations. Such models also will encourage us to redesign rites in the passage to administration that accentuate rather than discount past teaching experience.

Conclusion

The Principals Institute experience is a rite of passage; the heart of it is the internship. Nearly all the individuals report themselves "changed" during the internship experience. They see themselves, their home school principals, their mentor principals, their roles as teachers and other key personnel in very different ways from what they imagined or saw before. Some of these individuals, deeply committed to teaching, begin

with doubts about prospective principalship. They evolve into enthusiastic aspirants, imbued with new visions and new appreciation of the challenges and opportunities that confront principals in running schools.

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Appendix A
Evaluation & Feedback
on Advisement

Principals Institute, Fall 1992

Your anonymous, honest feedback will help us to review and improve our advisement work. Advisement represents an important phase of learning in the Principals Institute, centering on but not confined to internship. Please comment freely, using back of page if needed, on the value of experiences, your concerns, focus and frequency of sessions, communication, examination and sharing of experiences, role models, etc.

Individual Advisement

1. In your one-on-one contact with your advisor, what aspects were most helpful to your professional or personal growth, and why?

2. What aspects were least helpful, and why?

3. What recommendations or considerations would you suggest?

Group Advisement

4. In weekly Group Advisement, what aspects were most helpful to your professional or personal growth, and why?

5. What aspects were least helpful, and why ?

6. What recommendations or considerations would you suggest?

In general

7. What do you think would be useful for us to know or take into consideration about other activities, e.g. District Office days, Dade trip, speakers, special events, etc?

8. Is there anything you would like to add?